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# The Emancipation

OF THE

## Southern Whites

AND

## Its Effect on Both Races.

BY JOHN W. JOHNSTON, RICHMOND, VA., EX-GOVERNOR OF THE STATE.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY LEITCH & COMPANY.

1865.



1877-3  
1878-4

# The Emancipation of the Southern Whites and its Effect on Both Races.

[Republished from the MANUFACTURERS' RECORD.]

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J68  
ALL the world knew that the black man in the Southern States of this Union was a slave, but none recognized, or were conscious of the fact, that the white man was a slave also. I don't mean that he could have been bought and sold in the slave mart, or that he was directly subject to the orders of a master; but, nevertheless, he was a bondsman, and the chains that encumbered him were as inexorable as those that bound the colored race.

The Southerner was generally admitted to be brave, kind and hospitable, and was credited with skill, forecast and vigor in political life; but he was charged by his Northern brethren with being an indolent lover of pleasure, lacking in industry, energy and enterprise, following year after year and generation after generation the same old beaten track, with no apparent wish to leave it and no capacity to do so if he wished. He was reproached for persisting long and tenaciously in one uniform course; that he was blind to the vast resources and capacities of the country he lived in; that he was surrounded by mines of wealth, and did not care, or have the vigor, to utilize them.

Never was there a more mistaken idea. Never was there a people so little under-

stood, or so much misjudged, as the Southern planter and farmer.

But let those who find fault with him, and are fond of casting stones at him, recollect and understand that it was not of his free choice that he pursued the life he did; that he had no option, and was forced and restricted to one path by the existence of slavery and the actual and imperious necessities of the situation.

All over the civilized and Christian world to-day,—even in the free republic of the United States, with its unlimited variety of products, its public lands and its institutions, which open any life to any of its citizens,—the problem is: "How to provide employment for the laboring classes?" Here, business has been disturbed, loss and suffering incurred, and society shaken by the strikes which have become so frequent and so widespread, so easily induced and so hard to settle. And all readers and observers of public affairs must be aware of the unsettled condition of things in Europe of a kindred character. The problem has engaged the attention, most profound, of statesmen, social scientists, and governments in all European nations.—But no adequate remedy has been yet found, nor a satisfactory answer to the question yet given. And the same prob-



lem existed in the Southern States, though in a different form from that prevailing elsewhere.

The lands in the New England States were not fertile and farming was not a profitable pursuit. This drove the people of that section into shipping and manufactures, and other pursuits than agriculture. The manufacturing establishments were "infant" in the beginning, but soon grew and expanded. The number of employees congregated in one establishment became large; and if business was depressed and the market overstocked, the manufacturer and the public were confronted with the question of what to do with those who had no work.

Exactly the same thing was going on in the South, but not so noticeably. The negroes were the laboring class there, and work and employment had to be found for them. The condition of slavery itself kept them confined to their homes. They were not free to leave one employer and go to another, as the Northern and European laborer was, but master and slave were bound together—they were coupled, and the ligament was a strong one. What the Southern white man had to do was to see that *his* laboring class had work, and had it at home. He was restricted to one class of laborers and one locality. And he was obliged to conform his business also to the sort of work his men could do and that which was most profitable.

Now, while the lands in New England were poor, and agriculture not remunerative, the reverse was the case in the *South*. The lands in the main were good,

and their culture profitable. The South raised what the world wanted, and was obliged to have—cotton,—rice, sugar, tobacco.

Considering, then, that the slaves must remain with their masters on the plantations; that they were good agricultural laborers, but not skillful otherwise; that their work was both remunerative and necessary, and the world could not get along without it, is it wonderful that the Southern man adhered to it, and can any one see how he could have done anything else? Under that system, the laboring class was kept employed and provided for, and engaged in a healthy and easy sort of work.

The persistence of the Southern man in adhering year after year to the same course of life did not arise from incapacity to engage successfully in some other, but purely from his surroundings. The negro was a slave to him, and he was a slave to the situation. He could not abandon it without disastrous results to himself, to the negro, to the State and the world. If ever men were impelled by an irresistible force, it was the Southern white man. What did it matter to him if the earth beneath his feet was loaded with all the minerals which contribute to the wealth, convenience or enjoyment of manhood, or that the stream running by his door had water-power enough to turn a thousand wheels? He could not utilize them; he was bound hand and foot—bound to his slaves, bound to his plantation, bound to cotton, to his habits of life, to the exigencies of the situation, to the necessity of providing for his

slaves, so many of whom were non-producers. His laboring man could neither work well in a mine nor in a factory; and if he had been taken from what he understood and could do well, and put at what he did not understand and could not do well, the fields would have grown up with weeds and briars, and loss and ruin inevitably follow. There may have been more ways than one elsewhere to answer the question: "How to find work for the laboring classes?" and more latitude in solving it; but to him there was only one answer—labor in the field. He saw no other way, nor has the world seen any other.

The Southern planter did his work well. He had a hard and what would seem to have been almost an impossible task. He was brought into contact with a race who in their own country and in their native condition were all savages with scarcely a redeeming virtue. Out of such material he made men who became docile, industrious, kind and faithful; whose work reduced a vast wilderness to a state of cultivation. The influence, control and teachings that did this must have been judicious and prudent; no other course of conduct could have accomplished so much.

But the time came when the negro was suddenly manumitted, and the same act that manumitted him emancipated his master also. Both were then free to do what they pleased, engage in what occupation they choose, go where they fancied. It was a wonderful change for both, and could not but be pregnant with great consequences—for good or for evil, or both. More than twenty years have

passed, and that period affords us some means of judging the effect on both races. It is a momentous, it is a vital matter to the American people, and one that it behooves them to look into closely.

No way to form something like a correct opinion on this point is so good as to examine into the fruits of the labor of each race, so far as reliable statistics afford the data. Before the war the main products of the South (and by that term I mean the States which passed ordinances of Secession and constituted the Southern Confederacy) were tobacco, cotton, rice and sugar. Let us see how much of each was produced in the South in 1860 and prior thereto, and how much now, and whose labor raised it then and raises it now.

As the chief and most valuable of these products let us begin with

#### COTTON.

In 1860 the population of the United States was 31,443,321, of whom 4,441,880 were colored. This embraced the free negroes who numbered between four and five hundred thousand, and were located entirely in the North. The South, that is the seceding States, had 9,152,250, of whom 3,653,321 were colored. The last three years prior to the war gave this result:

	Bales.
1858.....	Cotton 3,257,339
1859.....	Cotton 4,018,914
1860.....	Cotton 4,801,292

This is an average of 4,045,848 for the three years, all, or nearly all, the product of colored labor—for the best estimates only allow 10 per cent., before the war, as the result of white work. As the number

of colored people in the South was 3,653,321, this is about equal to a bale and one-tenth each.

The crop of 1879, the one the figures of which are given in the census, was 5,757,397 bales, a small portion of which, however, as was the case before the war, was not grown in the seceding States. The same year the population in the same States of negroes was 5,357,194. If all the cotton, or as much of it, as before the war, had been grown by colored labor, the product would have been about the same in 1880 as in 1860. But whereas in 1860 only 10 per cent. was raised by whites, in 1880 and the subsequent years fully half of it was the direct outcome of their personal labor in the field. Statistics gathered from the census and by that reliable and valuable publication, the MANUFACTURERS' RECORD, develop these facts. The amount of cotton resulting in the South from the labor of the two races for the following years was:

	White.	Colored.
1860 .....	44 %	56 %
1879 .....	47.9%	52.1%
1884 .....	48.4%	51.6%
1885 .....	50.1%	49.9%

The whites continually increasing and the blacks decreasing. On this basis the colored people only in 1879 or 1880 grew 3,225,000 bales of cotton, though they numbered five millions and nearly a half, or not so much as three-fourths of a bale to each. And taking the crop of 1886, which was 6,550,215 bales, and estimating the number of blacks, according to the ratio of increase for previous years, at 7,250,000, we have the following comparative statement:

	1860.	1880.	1886.
Col'd Population...	4,441,830	5,357,194	7,250,000
Bales.....	4,861,282	5,757,397	8,150,000

The amount credited to the colored people being in 1886 their proportion of the whole, on the basis of 49 per cent. to them and 51 for the whites.

Speaking of the relative product of cotton by white and black labor the census of 1880 says:

"The best possible comparison (of white and black labor) is that made between the Northern and Southern groups of the Northeastern prairie region, where the best soil under negro preponderance, and the very center of the cotton belt, yields only an average of 0.33 bale per acre, while northward, under the influence of a predominance of the whites, and a consequent sub-division into small farms, the product per acre rises to an average of nearly 0.40 bale. Under the same influences the average product of the Pontotoc ridge, with inferior soils, on the whole exceeds by 4 per cent. that of the black prairie region. Similar relations are abundantly exemplified among the counties of the yellow loam region."

And the same authority says: "The tendency towards raising home supplies is decreasing in Morehead and Madison (in Mississippi) on account of the practice among the negroes of stealing swine."

#### TOBACCO.

In the South in 1860 the tobacco crop was this:

	Pounds.
Alabama.....	222,914
Arkansas.....	980,980
Florida.....	828,815
Georgia.....	919,318
Louisiana.....	39,940
Mississippi.....	159,141
North Carolina.....	32,558,250
South Carolina.....	104,412
Tennessee.....	49,448,097
Texas.....	97,914
Virginia.....	123 9 8 312
	<hr/> 209,623,093

And the total crop of the whole country was this:

	Pounds.
1860.....	494,209,461
1880.....	470,674,292
Increase in 20 years..	36,464,831

	Pounds.
In 1860 the Southern States, as shown by above table, grew.....	309,623,093
Other States and Territories.....	224,586,368
	<hr/> 434,209,461
While in 1880 it was this:	
The same Southern States.....	142,046,199
Other States and Territories.....	328,628,093
	<hr/> 470,674,292

So that in the twenty years named there was a decrease of production in the South of 67,577,894 pounds; and in Maryland, where colored labor is still used in that crop, the decrease was 12,323,818 pounds. The gain is in the North and in the Southern States where white labor predominates, as for example:

	Pounds.
Connecticut 1860.....	6,000,133
Connecticut 1880.....	14,044,632
Increase.....	8,044,519
Or about one hundred and thirty per cent.	
	<hr/>
New York 1860.....	5,789,582
New York 1880.....	21 956 213
Increase.....	16,186,631
Or about three hundred per cent.	

	Pounds.
Pennsylvania 1860.....	3,181,586
Pennsylvania 1880.....	36,943,272

Increase..... 22,761,686  
Or about one thousand per cent.

And in Kentucky, where white labor largely exceeds the colored, the increase has also been great:

	Pounds.
1860.....	108,128,840
1880.....	171,120,789
Increase.....	62,993,949

#### SUGAR.

The crop of sugar in 1860 was:

	Hogsheads.
Alabama.....	175
Florida.....	1,669
Georgia.....	1,187
Louisiana.....	221,726
Mississippi.....	506
North Carolina.....	88
South Carolina.....	108
Tennessee.....	2
Texas.....	5,093
Total.....	<hr/> 230,484

From 1879 to 1885 it was:

	Hogsheads.
1879.....	169,972
1880.....	218,314
1881.....	122,982
1882.....	241,220
1883.....	221,515
1884.....	170,431
1885.....	231,290

Equal to an average of 196,512 hogsheads,—a decline of 34,000 hogsheads, or about one-seventh of the whole crop.—And this in the face of an unprecedented and wonderful increase of consumption; for, whereas, in 1860 we consumed in the United States only 415,281 hogsheads, in 1880 we used 819,341, of which 730,519 were imported and only 88,822 of home production. And in 1885 these were the figures:

Total consumption, 1,097,445 hogsheads.
Imported..... 908,560
Domestic..... 188,885

The sugar we import comes from the West Indies and the Hawaiian Islands, and costs the people the enormous sum of \$72,529,657.

We have a reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands, by which their sugar is admitted duty free, in consideration of the fact that certain of our exports to the Island are relieved of duty. Much the greater part, however, comes from the West Indies and pays a duty, for the double purpose of raising revenue and protecting a home industry, which last it fails to do.

#### RICE

Is only grown in appreciable quantities in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.

	Pounds.
The crop of 1860 was.....	187,167,032
The crop of 1880 was.....	110,131,373

Decrease in 20 years..... 77,035,659

There came from the Hawaiian Islands, free of duty, 8,291,360 pounds; and the total importation for last year was:

	Pounds.
Cleaned Rice.....	43,445,483
Rice Meal.....	36,767,183

And this great falling off in home production has taken place, notwithstanding a large advance in the price, viz:

	Lowest.	Highest.
Price per 100 lbs. in 1860.....	\$3.00	\$4.62
1880.....	5.50	8.00

The prices have almost doubled in two decades, which, according to all recognized principles of political economy, ought to have stimulated production.

Thus, it is conclusively demonstrated *that the South has fallen off absolutely and largely in the three staple productions of*

rice, sugar and tobacco, and, so far as the labor of the colored race is concerned, in cotton also. The Southern boom has not been in that direction, and this great loss in those necessary articles stands in curious contrast with the sudden bound, by which the South has leaped from poverty and desolation to a condition of present prosperity, and the promise of far greater in the future.

I will offer, further on, what I consider the proper explanation of this seemingly anomalous result of a decline in a number of industries, to which the soil and climate of the South are suited and a marvellous growth in others, and in the meantime will present the reader with some account of industry, enterprise and energy and their results, more agreeable than the picture of decline, heretofore drawn.

It can no longer be said, even by the enemies of the Southern white man, that he is not now, at least, making good use of the bounties which nature has bestowed upon his country; for there is scarcely anything in the way of a natural resource, or of an industry suitable or practicable, that is not recognized and developed or put in the process of development. From railroads, mines, manufactures, commerce and education, down to trucking and the growth of small fruits, everything is active. Materials once thrown away, are husbanded and made profitable; and it is not extravagant to say, that no five years in the history of any people, ancient or modern, exceeds in material advancement, the past five years in the South, notwithstanding the decline already noted.

To make this statement good, let me take the industries one by one, and show, from reliable statistics, how some have grown from small beginnings into grand proportions, and others actually created.

In doing this, it may not be unprofitable or uninteresting, to make a comparison on some points between the Southern and Northern States. But in this work of computing the relative wealth of the two sections, the shipping and carrying interests, once so great and valuable to the Northern States, may as well be left out of the account. The North, which enjoyed practically in former times, the benefits of this business, has lost it, and there are reasons why it cannot be regained—at least at any early period. How great the loss, these figures will show.

In 1860, the tonnage of the world was as follows:

The United States.....	5,539,818 tons.
Great Britain .....	5,895,369 "
All other nations .....	5,800,707 "

The United States had nearly one-third of all the tonnage of the world, was almost equal to Great Britain, and fell only a little short of all other nations combined. Our tonnage was sufficient to transport all our own products and a good part of those of other peoples. Since 1860, the increase of the foreign commerce of the United States has been enormous; and every maritime nation has obtained a portion of it, except the United States. The increase, up to 1880, is as follows:

Great Britain from 935,000 tons to 7,903,000 tons.	
Germany.....	168,000 "
Sweden & Norway. 20,662	1,234,000 "
Austria .....	1,477 "
Portugal .....	4,727 "

I give below an official statement showing the total imports and exports of the United States for the three years just preceding the war, and six years after it, beginning with 1881:

	American Vessels.	Per Ct.	Foreign Vessels.
1858.....	\$447,191,304	73.7	\$ 160,066,608
1859.....	465,741,381	66.9	229,816,211
1860....	507,247,757	66.5	265,040,798
1881.....	268,080,608	16.	1,378,556,017
1882 .....	242,850,815	15.5	1,294,448,801
1883.....	261,718,208	16.3	1,290,030,411
1884.....	264,722,452	16.4	1,194,118,585
1885.....	223,118,544	16.	1,108,202,624
1886.....	227,947,600	16.	1,139,636,971

It has been asserted that the loss of our carrying trade was due to the depredations of Confederate cruisers. But this explanation is quite inadequate, for an inspection of the above table will show that the decline of American shipping and the growth of foreign had begun prior to the war. The increase of American shipping engaged in foreign trade from 1858 to 1860 was only about 11½ per cent., whilst that for the same period of other nations was more than 50 per cent.

The causes of the great decrease of American tonnage lie deeper than the war, the effect of which, if it had been the cause, would have been only temporary. They are mainly two:

1. No great producing nation has ever been also a carrying one; there must be a division of labor among nations as among men. Barrenness of soil and poverty of native resources drive a people to commerce, just as the want of land makes a man a mechanic or trader. Arabia was a land of rocks and deserts, yet it and the cities of Sidon and Tyre did the ship-

ping for the world in former times, and carried what Egypt produced. And later on the same work was done by Venice, Spain and Portugal. This country is the modern Egypt; it produces and, in the order of things, others carry.

2. There are so many channels for investment and so many ways of making money, far beyond any profits that arise from the use of vessels, that capital will seek them for years to come. The growth of the South itself will be one means of retarding the revival of American tonnage.

The investments to be made there are so inviting, and the profits expected so large, that the monied man rushes there, and builds a railroad, or opens a mine, or founds a city, or engages in manufactures. He looks for new fields, and finds them, too; and is content to let England or any other nation do our carrying across the oceans, as long as his money grows and swells where he has placed it.

Having shown the decrease of production in the South of articles that were staples before the war, and are yet, it is a pleasanter task to look on the other side of the picture and exhibit to the reader its enormous growth and progress in new industries, and its general development in other directions. And first, as to

#### MANUFACTURES,

in which so little was done, or could be done, when the blacks were slaves and their masters bondsmen also. I take again recent statistics from the MANUFACTURERS' RECORD of cotton mills, &c., in the *South*:

	1880.	1886.
Cotton mills.....	180	353
Spindles .....	713,989	1,400,697
Looms.....	15,222	27,004

The number of Southern manufactories and their products are given at these figures, viz:

Number in 1879...	34,563	Products...	\$315,924,794
" 1885...	51,419	"	605,892,000

An increase in number of 49 per cent., in capital of 93 per cent., and in employees of 63 per cent.

This result has probably been accelerated by the prevalence of strikes at the North and Northwest, and their comparative absence in the South,—a thing illustrated by more than one case. It is stated that a large operator in the State of New York has determined to remove his capital to the South, assigning as his reason that he has suffered so much loss, inconvenience and annoyance from the strikes, and his business rendered so uncertain and precarious, that he is unwilling to risk his capital and expose himself to constant worry at any point where a strike may be called at any time, and at the instance, perhaps, of some wholly irresponsible or malicious person.

In fact, the difference in favor of the South over the North, in the items of rent, fuel and clothing, will hereafter be one of the factors among capitalists in considering in which region they will venture their manufacturing capital,—to say nothing of greater security from strikes,—and will be a strong attraction to the laboring man also.

This increase of manufactures, of course, embraces small industries as well as large;

but these small industries, prosecuted without much capital and partly by the labor of the proprietor himself, after all contribute about as much as the larger ones to the general prosperity of the country. They are conducted without the embarrassments and troubles surrounding larger enterprises which employ numbers of hands, where the owner and the men often come to consider themselves natural enemies; where the seeds of socialism and communism may be sown and grow, and where hundreds of men are sometimes thrown out of employment with all its attendant sufferings and ills.

In the first six months of 1887 the new capital invested in manufacturing in the South reached the vast sum of \$161,117,000.

#### IRON.

It is in the development and manufacture of iron that the greatest progress in the South has been made. That industry heretofore has been almost monopolized by Pennsylvania; but it has been demonstrated that iron can be made cheaper in the South than in the North, which fact, together with great abundance and excellent quality of the ores, and the cheapness of land containing them, threaten to effect a revolution, and transfer the bulk of the capital now engaged in the iron business from the North to the South.

To illustrate—the pig iron made in the following States for the years named was as follows, viz:

Virginia,	{	1880.	1884.
Alabama,		178,006 tons.	481,744 tons.
Tennessee,			

And the manufacture of steel took even a greater leap, for in 1885 it was 149,381 tons and in 1886 it was 245,606 tons.

The increase of iron production in the South was more by 9,500 tons than the net increase in the whole United States. The whole country taken together produced less in 1884 than in 1880. In other words, the product decreased largely in the North and increased largely in the South during this period.

It is not only in the production of of pig iron that progress has been made, for the South makes the iron and then converts large quantities of it into machinery. During the first half of the year 1886 the investments in the South in that direction were \$63,618,200 and for the corresponding half of 1887 were \$161,117,000. The machine works at Roanoke, Va., where six or eight years ago there was only a little village of two or three hundred people, are now making cars for Northern railroads. The population of the place in 1886 was 7,200. The assessed valuation of property in 1880 was only \$250,000 and in 1886 it was \$3,950,000. Here is a description of the Roanoke Machine Works, written by a person who made a special examination of them.

"Shops for the construction of locomotives, stationary engines and cars of every grade and description, covering many thousands of square feet, and supplied with all the ponderous and complicated machinery necessary to make all sorts of bridges, and all kinds of cast or forged iron work. This does not mean merely that the machinery or cars may be put together here, but, except a few specialties, every part of the locomotive



or car, from the wheels to the last ornament, is made and fitted as well as "set up" here. Their output is 96½ tons per diem for the year. The raw material of iron and steel used is largely supplied by the Crozer Steel & Iron Co., whose blast furnace is a quarter of a mile away. This company derives its ores (brown hematite) mainly from the upland mines owned by it near Blue Ridge station, ten miles eastward, and from the Houston mines, fifteen miles northward."

Such things can only grow out of the fact that the ores are better in the South, or at least of equal quality as in the North, and can be converted into iron cheaper; or from these causes combined. The transfer of capital and business from the North to the South cannot be an accident, or a mere casual and phenomenal wave that will soon subside. What has already been developed about it warrants the belief that it will continue, and has its foundation on sound business principles.

Iron is made in England at a cost of about \$10.25 per ton, and here is a statement made by Mr. Rothwell, an expert, of the cost of making it at Birmingham:

"In a late number of the *Industrial South* mention was made of visit to Birmingham, Ala., by Mr. R. P. Rothwell, C. E., M. E., editor of the *New York Engineering and Mining Journal*, and of the very favorable conclusions he had formed of the advantages of that locality for the manufacture of iron. Mr. Rothwell is a very high authority in such matters, and we regret that he had not time to extend his investigations into other portions of the South, and especially into Virginia, where we feel well assured more than one site for iron and steel-making works on a large scale can be found, that, to say the least, are not inferior in advantages to

Birmingham. In a recent issue of the *Journal*, Mr. Rothwell, basing his remarks on the statement of the *Iron Trade Review* that the actual cost of making Bessemer iron at Lake Erie ports is \$14.23, says:

We are at present unable to give full information as to the quantity or quality of the alleged Bessemer ores of Cartersville, Ga., but we can give the cost of making iron from native ores (fossil red ores and limonites) in the Birmingham district of Alabama. Though these figures are not to be applied to any particular works, yet they are 'absolute figures of cost,' and nothing is 'assumed,' except the two items of renewals and incidentals, which Mr. Pechin also assumes:

100 of iron at 2 cents a unit.....	\$2 00
Fuel, 1¾ tons .....	3 50
Limestone.....	80
Labor .....	1 50

\$7 80

Renewals and incidentals..... 1 00

Total cost, exclusive of interest on capital or profit on mining..... \$8 80

To what this is tending it is not hard to foresee. Southern iron is going North, and the following extract from the *MANUFACTURERS' RECORD* shows how wide is this distribution:

TENNESSEE COAL, IRON & RAILROAD CO.

NASHVILLE, TENN., Dec. 21, 1886.

*Editor Manufacturers' Record:*

We note with approval your editorial of 11th inst. on Southern iron making. You might truthfully have added for the information of your Eastern contemporary that this company is making with its five furnaces now in blast as much pig iron as the Thomas Iron Co. with its twelve. And that said iron is being shipped from Tennessee and Alabama to Canada, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, California, Utah, Nevada, Montana, Texas, and

all the intervening States and territories that use iron. Is there a single Eastern company that can say as much?

Roanoke and Birmingham are not the only towns the growth of which has been phenomenal. Pocahontas and Newport News, the latter being the Atlantic terminus of the longest line of railroad connection in the world, are two conspicuous instances. Six years ago the site of Pocahontas was in the woods and there was not even a cabin near it. Now there are on an average 1,000 miners employed there, and about 150 car-loads of coal and coke shipped daily. At Newport News six years ago there were only deserted fields. Now its wharves, elevators and facilities for loading and unloading vessels equal those of any port in the United States. The last half of 1884 it shipped 623 bushels of grain; the first half of 1885, 754,000, and the first three months of 1886, 945,000.

There were mined in the South in 1880 of coal 6,048,571 tons, and in 1886 the amount was 13,820,713, or more than double.

Since 1880 there have 14,000 miles of railroad built in the South at a cost of \$600,000,000—the total cost of all the railroads being \$1,300,000,000. The number of miles in 1880 was 20,642 and in 1887 it was 33,767.

The increase of agricultural products has kept pace with other industries. The quantity of corn, oats, live stock and farm products in the years named are shown by the following tables:

	1879.	1885.
Corn, bus. ....	334,000,000	499,000,000
Oats, bus. ....	42,000,000	78,000,000
	1880.	1885.
Live stock, value ....	\$439,000,000	\$599,900,000

And a general summary of the comparative products of agriculture, manufactures and mining shows this:

	1880.	1885.
Agricul. products..\$	549,850,000	\$ 639,077,000
Stock and dairy.....	130,000,000	188,500,000
Manufactures .....	315,824,774	445,956,000
Mining.....	6,975,760	20,872,000
	\$1,008,353,534	\$1,304,105,000

The increase from 1880 to 1885 being about \$300,000,000, or \$60,000,000 annually.

In these figures I have given some of the evidences of growth in things which the South does in common with the whole country; but it is in the development of new industries that one great element of her advance and future prosperity is to be found. The newly discovered phosphate deposits in South Carolina are and will be a great source of wealth to that State. How rapidly that has grown these figures show. There were mined as follows:

1880.....tons, 190,000 1884.....tons, 400,000  
and the capital invested was:

1880.....\$3,493,300 1884.....\$6,500,000

Formerly cotton seed were thrown away or only used as manure. Now their value has been ascertained and they promise to yield a revenue and employ labor on a grand scale. The weight of the seed is about double that of the lint—in other words for every ton of lint there are two tons of seed. The table in Mr. Spofford's American Almanac, which is accurate without doubt, gives the lint in 1879 as 1,362,599 tons, and the seed at 2,725,197 tons.

This article once wasted is now in the rapid process of utilization. Cotton seed

oil mills have grown from 40 in 1879 to 146 in 1886, and the capital employed in them from \$3,504,500 to \$10,792,450. It is estimated that now 3,000,000 of tons are annually grown, and when it is known that of this vast quantity, notwithstanding the progress already made, only 400,000 tons are as yet converted into oil, the balance being either lost or used as manure, we will see at a glance what a mine of wealth this is and will be to the South.

The crops I have mentioned are those staple crops which are in universal use, employ thousands of people and realize millions of dollars. But, as I have already said, the real prosperity of a country depends almost as much upon what may be called the minor industries. They are not disturbed by strikes, nor affected by hard times or revulsions in money affairs. Of them, there is no overproduction, nor any glutting of the markets. As an illustration of this, let me refer to the peanut crop, and I give an extract from a Norfolk paper which will furnish some idea of the value to Virginia of this almost unnoticed product:

"We see that the peanut crop of 1886 is estimated at about 3,500,000 bushels—worth about \$3,000,000. Of this important crop, Virginia raises 2,500,000 bushels, and the culture of this nobby nut is confined to about a half dozen counties in the southeastern corner of the State. Of the 2,500,000 bushels raised in Virginia, it is quite safe to say that this city (Norfolk) will handle nearly 2,000,000 bushels. The crop is annually growing in importance as new uses are found for the nut and also for the vines. The nut brings a fair profit, equal to corn. The vine is nearly or quite as valuable as clover hay, and after

the nuts are dug enough still remain in the ground to offer sufficient inducement to the hogs to root the ground over thoroughly and to fatten at the same time. It is, for Virginia, an important crop, and brings annually large sums of money into the State from abroad."

The worth of this crop will be better understood when it is known that it is grown on lands where neither corn, tobacco or wheat can be raised profitably.

The statement is made that the trucking business in the counties in Virginia, adjacent to Norfolk, including the peanuts, aggregates annually about \$5,000,000.

Since 1879 the assessed value of property in the South has increased nearly a thousand millions of dollars, and in this connection it is to be noted that the South is relatively richer than the assessments show, because property there is undervalued to a greater degree than in the North and West.

The increase of live stock in the South has been one of the most marked features of its growth and progress. From the census of 1880 I take the following statistics, and it is well known that the advance, in that particular, has been greater since that time than in any equal number of years before. By way of comparison, I show the number of cattle, sheep and swine and the quantity of corn, oats and wheat, in the census year, in representative States North and South.

	CATTLE.	SHEEP.	SWINE.
Texas.....	4,894,698	4,457,323	2,449,823
Florida.....	558,373	105,681	315,600
Georgia.....	909,911	527,589	1,471,003
Massachusetts.	261,191	67,979	80,123
New York.....	2,339,721	1,715,180	751,907

and as to the cereals let us select:

	CORN.	OATS.	WHEAT.
Mississippi... bbls.	21,240,800	1,959,620	218,809
Massachusetts "	1,787,768	645,159	15,768

These figures well illustrate how independent and self sustaining the South has become since the emancipation of the whites, and how able that region is, not only to support itself, but largely contribute to feed and clothe the world, and on the other hand, how dependent the North Atlantic and New England States are upon others for both food and clothing.

The foregoing figures will give the reader a fair idea of what the South is now producing, and while discussing that matter, it may be both profitable and interesting to enquire what its capacities are and what its ultimate outcome will be when the whole of it is reduced, as it will be in the end, to a condition of cultivation, resembling that existing, we will say, in the good farming counties of Pennsylvania. The South is sparsely settled, much of its best lands are in a state of nature, or very rudely farmed, and yield now far below what they should do.

The following table shows the area in cotton in 1879:

	ACRES.
Mississippi.....	2,093,380
Georgia.....	2,617,138
Texas.....	2,173,732
Alabama.....	2,330,086
Arkansas.....	1,049,976
South Carolina.....	1,364,249
Louisiana.....	864,787
North Carolina.....	896,158
Tennessee.....	722,589
Florida.....	245,595

14,657,690

The number of bales of cotton raised on that area was 5,688,107, or only a little more than one-third of a bale to the acre. Florida, on her 245,595 acres, only grew

54,997, or between the fourth and fifth of a bale to the acre. Most of the land in the cotton region is naturally of a good quality, and this small yield only demonstrates how backward are still the processes of cotton raising. Of course, where the area is so great, manure or commercial fertilizers can only be used to a very limited extent, but good tillage would go a great ways towards increasing the crops.

	ACRES.
Alabama contains.....	33,440,000
Arkansas ".....	34,464,000
Mississippi ".....	29,558,400
And in Texas the cotton belt alone contains.....	83,915,200

In the last-named State only about one acre in thirty-eight of the cotton lands were devoted to that crop. It is quite apparent, therefore, that Texas alone is equal to the task of producing the amount now raised in the whole United States several times over.

In Arkansas only one acre in thirty-two; in Alabama and Mississippi, one acre in fifteen are planted in cotton. In 1879—the census year—Mississippi grew 955,808 bales on 2,106,214 acres, working only one acre in fifteen. Suppose she worked ten acres out of fifteen, which is only two-thirds, and no improvement was made in cultivation, the product would be about 10,000,000 bales or nearly twice as much as is grown in the whole United States. But if the land was worked to advantage, and the crop increased as it could be by the means employed elsewhere to enrich the land and increase the growth on it, it is not extravagant to say that the State of Mississippi alone would grow from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 bales of cotton annually.

I have not the data from which to ascertain the area of the sugar and rice lands, but what is true of cotton, is true of those crops also, though, perhaps, not in so great a degree.

That the Southern white man has made a good use of his emancipation is seen of all men. While he was a bondsman his allotted task was well performed. Now that he is free, his energy, his enterprise, his industry, his courage have found new channels and profited in them all.

But a vital question to more than him is the one how the colored race has profited by their freedom? What progress are they making, not only in new business and the accumulation of property, but in education, mental development and morals? He was once an industrious man, a sober man, and crime was rare with him. Is he industrious now, is he sober, does he still abstain from crime, has his mind expanded, do his morals continue good? It is much to be feared and more to be deprecated that all these questions cannot be answered favorably to him. And if the answers are against him it is the more to be deprecated, because the world never saw such a spectacle of fidelity and kindness as the race exhibited during the war. The white men were in the army, and the care of the family and conduct of the farm were left with the slaves. The property of their masters; the lives and honor of the family were put in their hands, and the great trust was honored. So far from abusing it, or using their opportunity to plunder their owners *or be guilty* of other misconduct, they re-

mained at home, they cultivated the land, raised and saved crops, protected and cherished the women and children. And if a change has come over them and they have and are departing from their good record, it may be only a temporary departure, caused by their sudden change from slavery to unrestricted freedom.

That there has been a change in many respects, and that not for the better is certain, and I know no better way of illustrating it than by taking the city of Washington, where reliable statistics exist, and see what his condition and conduct there are. The colored race cannot complain of being tried by the standard of their fellows in that city, because it affords a better opportunity for them than any other point in the whole country. They are under the immediate care of Congress. They have opportunity of Government employment, and the means of education are open to them in the public schools and in the higher branches in Howard University.

As to health, the death rate in Washington for nine years from 1876 to 1885, shows this: White, 19.02; colored, 34.99, the deaths among the colored people being nearly double those among the whites. This excess of death rate among the colored people over the white occurs in more ways than one. For instance, the death rate among children under five years of age was: white, 6.27; colored, 16.41. Stillbirths are far more frequent among the blacks than among the whites—probably from the habit of the former in employing midwives of their own color instead of doctors. In the year 1884 there were 1,477

colored children born in the city of Washington, and of them only 308 were returned by physicians, and of that number 234 were born in hospitals or asylums, where the physician belonging to the institution was in attendance, leaving only 74 cases in which the colored people voluntarily employed doctors.

But a more deplorable result is reached when the record of illegitimate births is examined. In 1884 the illegitimates were as follows, viz.: White, 63; colored, 281, and this in a population of more than three whites to one black, and in 1885 the difference was still greater, for it was—white, 56; colored, 337. There was one statement in the report of the Health Bureau well calculated to excite horror, and to make the reader not hopeful of the future of the black race. There were in Washington twenty-two homicides of children under one year of age—two white, twenty colored.

The records of the criminal courts in that city present an ugly picture. I quote now some statistics prepared by Dr. George Ben Johnston of Richmond and make extracts from an article published by him, called "What will become of the colored race?"

"From January, 1881, to November, 1882, there were 253 convictions for felony in the District of Columbia. Of these, 64 were whites and 189 colored; and on the 21st April, 1884, there were in jail awaiting trial 187 persons: white males, 52; colored males, 114; colored females, 23; white females, none."

The writer then proceeded to give statistics of convicts in several States, with the following result: In the South Carolina penitentiary in 1880 there were 642 convicts, of whom 586 were colored and 56 white. In Georgia 1,300 convicts, of whom 130 were white and 1,170 colored. In Mississippi, in the penitentiary, 74 whites, 688 blacks. And in the Virginia penitentiary, there were 664 colored males and 83 colored females; 207 white males and 5 white females. In New York for every 10,000 colored people there are 152 criminals.

The number of females is only given in the reports from Virginia and the District of Columbia, but in those two the colored female convicts number 96 and the white female convicts only 5.

Three hundred and thirty-seven colored illegitimates in the city where our government resides in one year, twenty homicides of colored children under the age of one year, twenty-three colored women in jail awaiting trial for felony, eighty-three colored women in the penitentiary of a single State! This is a fearful spectacle and may well fill the American people with alarm, and should impel them to the instant, strenuous and continued effort to bring about a reformation.

If such things are inherent in the colored race, and if they are by nature prone to crime and vice, then there is no remedy. But if they result from a sudden change of condition and a release from the restraints imposed upon them by their condition of slavery, then let statesmen, philanthropists and all good citizens seek for a cor-

rective, for certain it is that they loudly demand attention.

When we recollect how simple and harmless the life of the colored race once was, how free they were from crime, insanity, intemperance and vice generally, we are forced to conclude that as to crime at least, he has not profited by his freedom.

In all the Southern States the public school system exists and has been in operation--whites and blacks sharing equally in proportion to numbers in its benefits—for a period long enough to afford some test at least, though hardly yet a full and reliable one, of what it is doing for the black race, and what good they are deriving from it. The best mode of arriving at a correct idea on this point is, to examine the reports of the superintendents of public instruction, which are generally very full and complete.

It is now twenty-two years since the war ended. The common schools have been in operation not less than fifteen years in the South. All youth of both races under twenty-five years of age, have had equal access to them. So far as illiteracy, by which is meant inability to read is concerned, there is no reason why it should be greater among the blacks than the whites, of those born since the termination of hostilities.

In Georgia, according to the school census, the number of children between 6 and 18 years of age is: White, 261,884; colored, 234,889, the whites exceeding the blacks only 26,995.

Yet of those between the ages of 10 and 18, which is the period during which most schooling is obtained, the number unable to read is: white, 22,323; colored, 63,307.

In North Carolina the school census gives these figures:

	1885.	1886.
White.....	330,890	338,059
Colored.....	199,237	209,249

And in 1885 the attendance at school of colored children was 70,486, which fell to 68,585 in 1886.

In Virginia, where the common schools have been at work for 17 years, in 1885 the number enrolled was: white, 194,000; colored, 109,108; and the average daily attendance was: white, 115,624; colored, 60,845. The percentage of school population enrolled was: white, 62; colored, 45; and the average percentage of daily attendance was: white, 36; colored, 25. The number of colored children from five to twenty-one who never attended school was 102,353, and the number unable to write was 150,248, and unable to read was 124,637.

So that the colored children fail to enroll; and when enrolled, fail to attend to the degree the whites do, and in Virginia, among those under twenty-one, the rate of illiteracy is:

White, 30½ per cent; colored, 53½ per cent. What the result in Louisiana has been, the following statement discloses:

The New Orleans Times-Democrat publishes an official table of the registered voters of the State of Louisiana, which, as that paper is fully justified in stating, gives a melancholy evidence that the educational advantages of the State are not sufficient for its present needs, and that it is going

backward toward illiteracy rather than forward.

By the census of 1880, as quoted by the Times-Democrat, there were 216,787 males of a voting age in Louisiana, of whom 113,895, or 52.4 per cent., could write their names, while 102,932, or 47.6, made their marks. The greater portion of these illiterates were among the colored people, over 80 per cent., or four-fifths of that race being unable to write; but the number of white illiterates was 16,877, 15 per cent., or more than one-seventh of the total white voting population.

Since 1880, or in six years, the Times-Democrat says: "The number of illiterate voters has grown from 102,932 in 1880, to 112,411 in 1886. The number who can write has actually fallen from 113,895 to 105,426. The youth growing up in Louisiana and becoming voters are growing up in ignorance and illiteracy. The schools are not only unable to make any impression on the illiteracy in this State, but cannot even keep up with it; and we are consequently drifting backward."

Much has been written about the relative increase of the two races in the United States, and the apprehension expressed that the colored race would gain rapidly on the white, and after awhile displace them in certain quarters of the country. This fear was derived mainly from the large apparent increase of negroes from 1870 to 1880, as shown by the census reports of those years. But this is manifestly delusive. The census of 1870 was very defective, as Gen. Walker himself stated. The increment of the two races has been as follows:

YEARS.	WHITE.	COLORED.
1840 to 1850.....	23.9.....	23.1
1850 to 1860.....	23.1.....	22.0
1860 to 1870.....	15.04.....	9.8
1870 to 1880.....	21.1.....	34.8

It will be seen the increase of negroes from 1860 to 1870 was only put down at 9.8, while from 1870 to 1880 it is reported at 34.8, which two added together make the same rate as for previous decades, being an average of 22.3.

Carefully prepared tables, going back to 1800, give these percentages of the negro to the total population :

	PER CENT.
1800.....	19
1820.....	19
1840.....	17
1860.....	14
1870.....	13
1880.....	13

But it must not be forgotten that for the four years of the war, the conditions of reproduction were far more favorable among the negroes than the whites. The negroes were not disturbed in the usual course of life—they lived as they had always done, and were protected and cared for by both sides. No matter which party occupied the country the negroes had no occasion to do anything but stay quietly at their homes. They were engaged in agriculture—the most peaceful and healthy of all pursuits. Their condition of slavery kept them from the vice of intemperance, and their lives on the farms and plantations did not expose them to accidents. There could be no life more favorable to the rapid increase of a race than that of the negro before the war.

But on the other hand the four years of the war so favorable to them, were highly unfavorable to the whites. In the South 600,000 men in the prime of life left their homes and went into the field, while in the North the white men who enlisted reached



the enormous number of 2,765,691. Only 173,000 negroes were taken into the army of the North, of whom 93,000 were from the South. What a check this condition of things was to the increase of the whites it is easy to see.

In 1880 the population of the United States was: White, 43,402,970; colored, 6,580,793, and the deaths that year as follows: Whites, 640,191; colored, 116,702, giving a rate of 14.07 to the 1,000 of whites and 17.73 of the colored.

Statistics of all the cities where any considerable proportion of the population is colored show a mortality about double that of the whites. This became so marked that a few years ago it was made the subject of special consideration by leading colored men at a meeting held in Washington, but no remedy was suggested.

Nor is there any reason apparent why an improvement should take place in these respects. The two races are each year drawing farther apart, and there is less of the intercourse between them of a character to profit the colored people than ever before. They employ their own doctors and aspire to manage their own affairs, being jealous of anything looking like supervision or control on the part of the whites. To them, that savors a little of their old condition of slavery, and they will have none of it.

If we are to judge of the future of the black race in the South by the condition of the free negro in the North, then indeed *there is much to fear. Here is a picture, submitted by Mr. Kennedy, the superin-*

tendent of the census of 1860, with the census:

"In the interval from 1850 to 1860 the total free colored population of the United States increased from 434,449 to 483,005, or at the rate of 12.33 per cent. in ten years, showing an annual increase of 1 per cent. This result includes the number of slaves liberated, and those who have escaped from their owners, together with the natural increase. In the same decade the slave population, omitting those of the Indian tribes west of Arkansas, increased 23.39 per cent., and the white population 37.97 per cent., which rates exceed that of the free colored by twofold, and three or fourfold respectively. Inversely, these comparisons imply an excessive mortality among the free colored, which is particularly evident in the large cities. Thus in Boston, during the five years ending with 1859, the city registrar observes: 'The number of colored births was one less than the number of marriages, and the deaths exceed the births in the proportion of nearly two to one.' In Providence, where a very correct registry has been in operation under the superintendence of Dr. Snow, the deaths are 1 in 24 of the colored; and in Philadelphia, during the last six months of the census year the new city registration gives 148 births against 306 deaths among the free colored. Taking town and country together, the results are more favorable. In the State registries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the distinction of color has been specified, the yearly deaths of the blacks and mulattoes have generally, though not uniformly, exceeded the yearly births—a high rate of mortality, chiefly ascribed to consumption and other diseases of the respiratory organs."

It is in these terms that Senator Blair of New Hampshire, the special friend of the blacks, speaks of them in a speech in the United States Senate:

"I am convinced of the fact that the general condition of the colored population in very much the larger geographic proportion of the South is growing worse rather than better, and the colored youths now are not so quiet and good natured and easily managed and tractable a race of men as the Northern people are inclined to think. I believe they are rapidly becoming demoralized—an idle, thriftless population, with a tendency to violence, and likely to become a source of much danger to the United States, as a population like this described in Jamaica can be.

\* \* In twenty-five years from now this Southern colored population, unless something is done to restrain, improve and elevate them, are quite likely to be a source of violence and of turmoil to this country."

And the President of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, which is a colored college, says in one of his reports :

"The country is just awakening to the fact that a vast black population threatens by force of its numbers and its ignorance, for which it is not responsible, to overwhelm, at certain points, its civilization, especially in those States where there is a majority of negroes. Where the blacks are massed in large numbers, particularly in the more Southerly States, a tremendous physical advantage. The standard of morality in places is shocking and almost shameless."

This is the language of a man who has devoted years of his life to teaching colored youth of both sexes and studying their character.

On this evidence the verdict can scarcely be anything than that the colored race has deteriorated both in industry and morals; that they have not made as good use of the chance of obtaining an education, which the whites have given them

as could be desired, and that, as time progresses, they seem to appreciate it less and become more indifferent to its advantages. And it is apparent that the crops, especially the work of the blacks, and some of which they only can do—such as rice—have uniformly declined.

On the other hand, it is equally true that they have labored under great disadvantages, and may yet reverse this judgment. Numbers of them are excellent citizens and are accumulating property and conducting themselves well in all respects. But this class consists in the main of men who had attained manhood while yet slaves. The young do not afford much promise in this direction. But unfortunately for the colored, as well as the white man, there is a record made and kept of his crimes and evil deeds, but none of his virtues and good works. The industries in the South carried on exclusively or mainly by negro labor have not thriven.

They raised, in former times, rice, sugar, tobacco, and cotton. The product of rice, sugar and tobacco have absolutely and actually declined, while the cotton produced by negroes has also declined, though the total product of the South has increased, more than half of it, however, as has been already shown, being grown by white labor. The "boom" in the South has not been in these things, but in others—mainly the work of the whites, and which the emancipation has allowed them to engage in. It is the free white man, not the free negro, who has given the impulse to Southern industries and development which have astounded the world.

In the South are congregated more elements of wealth than in any other country in the globe—more to make a people rich, prosperous and powerful. When we see one region producing cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, corn, wheat, oats, grass, all the fruits, one may well think that that country has her share of the gifts of this earth. But when added to them is a positive redundancy of minerals—gold, iron, coal, salt, gypsum, limestone, marble, copper, zinc, lead, and a great variety of valuable medicinal waters—hardly any estimate of

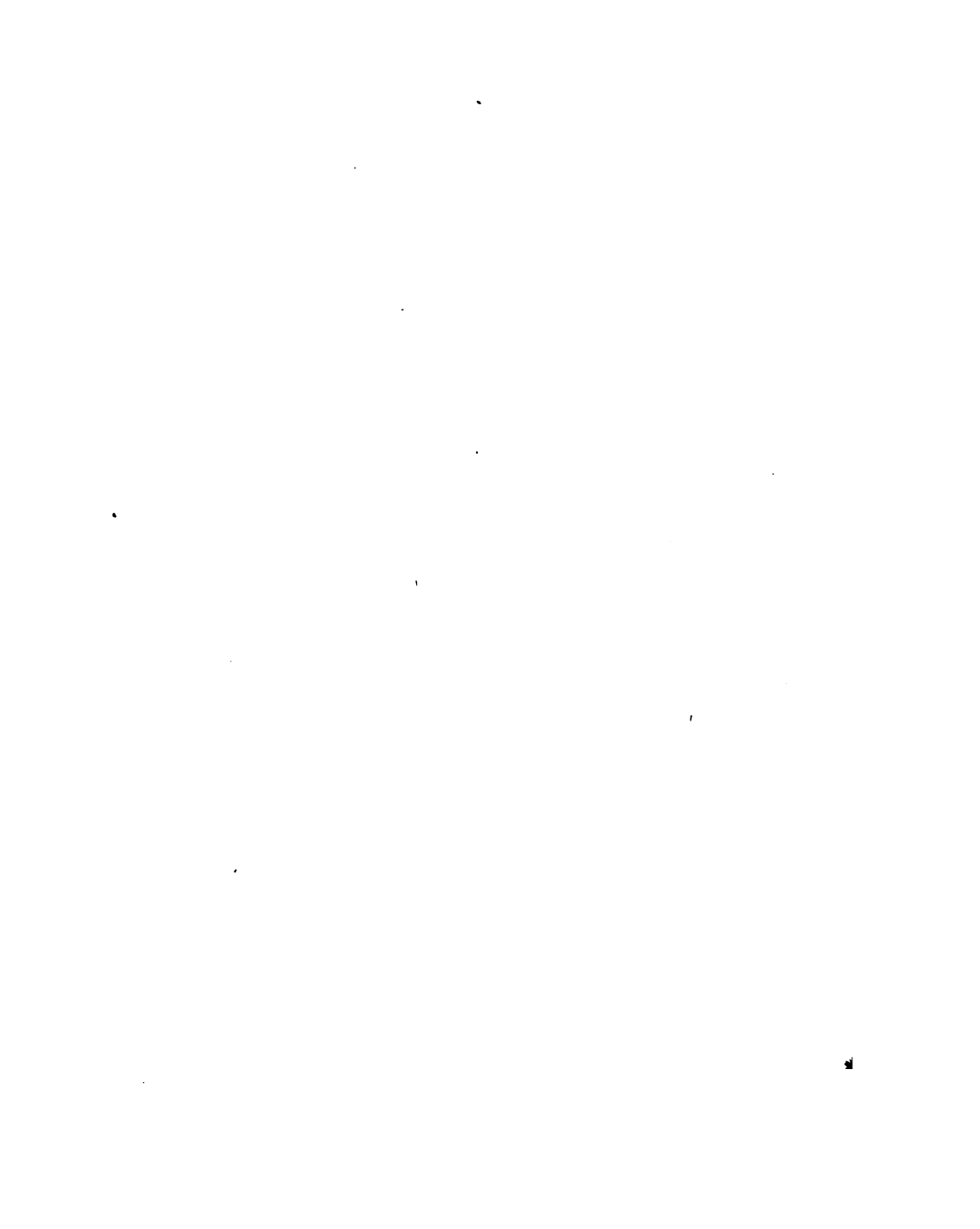
the future of such a country can be extravagant. The South is emphatically a producing country, and that is the try in which comfort, easy means of making a living prevail, and where society is safer, and society less disturbed, the whole system more permanent elsewhere.

The emancipation of the white make the South great, rich and prosperous but the destiny of the blacks is enveloped as yet, in mystery.



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